Fellowship

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It is no great matter to associate with the good and gentle; for this is naturally pleasing to all, and everyone willingly enjoyeth peace, and loveth those best that agree with him.

But to be able to live peaceably with hard and perverse persons, or with the disorderly, or with such as go contrary to us, is a great grace, and a most commendable and manly thing.

***The Imitation of Christ*, Thomas à Kempis**
The Whitford-Klein version, Harper and Bros.

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PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

An Experiment with Truth, by Winifred Rawlins
Love in Action, by A. J. Muste
A Pinch of Incense, by Ammon A. Hennacy
The Student and ROTC, by J. Herschel Coffin

ff In a short, but remarkably graphic and moving report, Winifred Rawlins tells what the Fast for Peace, which took place in Washington during Easter Week, was like. Over fifty participated, coming from all over the country by bus, by plane, by car, by train and by thumb to make their witness, while over fifty more individuals and groups at home took parallel action. Although many had misgivings beforehand, the adverse publicity about "crackpot action" was not forthcoming, and the action, taken as it was in a spirit of penitence, seemed to touch the fears and hopes of people of most diverse persuasions. . . . Ammon Hennacy, in "A Pinch of Incense," tells why he refused to give a single penny to the tax collector. . . . J. Herschel Coffin, of Whittier College in Whittier, California, tells about the psychological effect on the student who is put through college by ROTC . . . and A. J. Muste finishes up his series on neo-orthodox charges against pacifism with "Love in Action," in which he presents the positive political program and techniques of pacifism.

FELLOWSHIP

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21 Audubon Avenue
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A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary*
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, *International Secretary*

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*
CONSTANCE MUSTE, *Assistant Editor*

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

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Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
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Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

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Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

June, 1950 Vol. XVI—No. 6

Subheads

Perfect Imperfect

Remember the "unnecessary necessity" offered by the *Christian Century* to explain its support of the late war? There's a new one out now: the "impossible possibility," which is how Reinhold Niebuhr defines the Cross in his book *Faith and History*.

This juxtaposition of the unjuxtaposable suggests all sorts of tantalizing possibilities for describing our confused world. The "patriotic traitor," for example, could be an invaluable help in explaining away various recent culprits, while nobody could miss the delectable implications of either the "pagan Christian" or the "Christian pagan." And, of course, there would be plenty of opportunity to refer to the unpacific pacifist!

In a less obvious way, of course, the idea has been used extensively already, but it could be sharpened up by the deliberate development of this two-word antonymosity. The original United Nations categorization of a "peace-loving nation" as one that had participated in the war could have been made much clearer, for example, with such expressions as "non-belligerent belligerent" and "noncombatant aggressor."

It's in the future of war that we look for the greatest use of this new device, however. We can foresee there clearly such *bon mots* as "unethical ethics" and "immoral morality," eventuating in the use of bombs that spread constructive destruction and germs that infect the world with healthy disease. With the final end, of course, the tentative assurance to all men everywhere of free slavery in a Utopian desert.

Red

Anyone who has any doubts about where things wind up when a democracy starts out on the kind of anti-Red binge now going on should read a folder put out recently by a group that calls itself the American Council of Christian Laymen. The ACCL is reported to be a small group of well-financed

reactionaries with a resounding name calculated to disguise its small following. Its folder is called "How Red is the Federal Council of Churches?" and attempts to prove its case by listing some of the "past and present officers" of the Federal Council with their "Communist" affiliations. Here are a few of the "affiliations":

American Civil Liberties Union, called by the ACCL "closely affiliated with the Communist movement," as asserted by three legislative committees. *Facts:* The ACLU admits no Communists to serve on its Board of Directors or staff and is frequently attacked by the Communists as a result. National chairman John Haynes Holmes and executive secretary Roger Baldwin, both just retired, are FOR members.

Committee on Militarism in Education, said by ACCL to have "cooperated with Communist groups." *Facts:* CME, a pre-war organization combating ROTC, was largely religious and pacifist in sponsorship. Its first chairman was John Nevin Sayre, one of its treasurers Oswald Garrison Villard, both FOR members.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, called by ACCL a "radical-pacifist group using Christian terms to spread Communist propaganda."

Signers of "World Tomorrow" Poll, who "voted in favor of Socialism, a drastic increase in inheritance and income taxes, a 'cooperative commonwealth' instead of capitalism." This program, in the eyes of the ACCL, constitutes "communism." *The World Tomorrow* was the predecessor of FELLOWSHIP, and suspended publication in 1934. Editors and officers included Norman Thomas, Kirby Page, and John Nevin Sayre.

War Resisters League, which "co-sponsors numerous Communist-controlled movements and programs of Communist-dominated organizations."

Snitch

The Senate subcommittee investigating communism in the State Department has prepared indictments charging Earl Browder and Frederick Vanderbilt Field with contempt of Congress for refusing to answer some of the committee's questions. The specific questions had to do with identifying individuals on a list of names as Communists, and the two men stand in danger of $1,000 fine and a year in jail if convicted.

We doubt that the committee is being very smart about this. When we were boys, the kind of action the Senators wanted Messrs. Browder and Field to engage in was known as snitching, and rated about as low on the scale of human behavior as anything could. The snitcher, no matter what the offense involved, was universally detested and the voice of authority that encouraged snitching lost much of its authority by so doing.

It may be a sign of immaturity but we suspect that most adult Americans feel about the same toward snitchers as they did in childhood. Even the police who use "stool-pigeons" regularly to solve crimes look on them, if the mystery novels are to be believed, with lofty contempt. And while we have met any number of people who think it was probably a good thing that Alger Hiss was snitched on,

we have yet to meet anybody with a good word to say for Whittaker Chambers, who snitched.

And the converse of this is that we boys admired even the most reprehensible character who, falsely accused, firmly withstood both the blandishments and threats of parental and school authority, and refused to snitch. That, too, we suspect, is still a characteristic of most Americans. If it is, the Senators are likely to find that they have put the Communists in a better light than they've ever been before.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

A "privately circulated" (for a fee) newsletter out of Washington reports that plans are under consideration for increased arms spending to counteract unemployment. Pioneer experimenters in this field were two recently deceased European statesmen.

* * *

Just about the time the Congressional axe was being sharpened for defense appropriations, mysterious submarines began cavorting off the California coast and an American plane disappeared mysteriously over the Baltic. Now appropriations are due to be increased and the Selective Service Act, which seemed about to expire unmourned in June, will probably be renewed. You'd almost think somebody didn't want things to quiet down.

* * *

Some Congressmen who protested to Secretary of State Acheson over the shipment of arms by Britain to the Arab states were assured that the arms were sent "to maintain the balance of power and not for purposes of aggression."

* * *

The University of Michigan, an institution of higher learning (sic), refused to permit a debate on "Communism vs. Capitalism" on its campus. In Toledo, the YMCA called off a scheduled debate on "Is Communism a Threat to Christianity and Democracy" in deference to protests from a group of businessmen, church leaders, and American Legion representatives.

* * *

Billy Graham, an evangelist who is so successful he has made the pages of *Life*, told 2,000 people in New Hampshire that sin is a Communist plot. This obviously extends the area of possible loyalty investtigations enormously, though it may also make it a little difficult for the investigators to produce their stone-throwing permits.

* * *

Everything was made crystal clear by a cartoon in the Spokane (Wash.) *Spokesman-Review*, showing a pair of scales, labelled "Russia" and "U.S.," tipping heavily in the latter's direction. Each scale held an H-bomb, of presumably equal weight, but what made the difference was an added feature on the U.S. side: a Bible, labelled "Faith in God," lying beside the bomb.

* * *

The "bold new program" for peace proposed by President Truman as "Point Four" wound up with a total appropriation from Congress of $25 million. This compares with some $15 billion for the bold old program of military power.

An Experiment with Truth

By WINIFRED RAWLINS

WE FOUND OURSELVES CALLING IT "an experiment with truth," the seven-day Fast for Peace in Washington, D. C., during Passion Week, which had its conception at a Peacemakers' gathering in New York and eventually drew in people from all over the country. It seemed to be the first time that a group of fifty or so pacifists in the United States had come together to fast for a dual purpose: for self-purification and seeking, and for a dramatic witness against the war spirit and for the spirit of sacrificial good will. Everyone in the group—Christians (Protestant, Catholic and Friends), followers of Gandhi, humanitarians, Negro or white—had come because of one of these motivations, many because of both. A Hopi Indian Chief had come to observe "why the white men are fasting."

Our home for the week was "Inspiration House," an old guest-house in a quiet part of the city, in a district where people of dark skin color are allowed to live but not to live free from apprehension. Large, cheerful rooms upstairs where "members of the public," press men and friends of the group mingled with the fasters; downstairs a restaurant, "closed until April 9th." Upstairs also a small quiet room where an eight-day candle, lit on Palm Sunday, flickered the week away.

At the end of the third day the strain began to tell on some of the older people, and it was a smaller group that gathered for group meditation next morning. Almost imperceptibly the philosophical differences we had been conscious of at the beginning withdrew into the background. The orthodoxy or otherwise of one's theology found its right proportions as members of the group visited one another's bedsides, lent hot-water bottles, or found extra blankets for a neighbor. Each morning, refreshed by sleep, a group would set off in every available car, yesterday to stand outside churches with leaflets, today to seek an interview at the White House, tomorrow to the Russian Embassy. Always the message was essentially the same: "We must draw the line against war NOW. Let no nation wait any longer for another. . . . Has the time come to put our trust in the positive forces of life? . . . Some of us during this Christian Passion Week are moved by the teaching and example of Jesus, who taught that evil can be overcome only by good. . . . Those of us who are humanitarians believe that there is a natural law that binds all men together. . . ."

The Ghost of Gandhi

"The ghost of Mahatma Gandhi walked the streets of Washington yesterday . . ." wrote a press reporter of the picket line which kept vigil outside the White House while the small deputation explained its concern to a representative of President Truman. Inside

the Russian Embassy another small group wrestled to release the spirit across the barriers between two worlds of thought. "If the United States were to disarm would your country do the same?" "Yes," came the instant reply from the friendly but vigilant young attaché watching us with intense, alert eyes. A telegram giving this information was sent by the group that evening to Truman, vacationing in Florida.

Pentagon Vigil

On Good Friday at noon, the beginning of the traditional three hours of devotion, twenty-five people made their way through the outer and inner mazes of the Pentagon, symbol of military might in the U.S.A., to the corridor outside Secretary of Defense Johnson's office. Here they sat down on the floor in two long lines against the walls and began to hold a silent Meeting. Uniformed figures quieted their steps as they passed through the double line, hushed interested voices began to inquire what was happening. The outcome was inevitable. In courteous but imperative words the authorities made known to us the impossibility of our staying there. "People are beginning to be curious. . . ." They would give us a quiet room where we could continue. Regretfully we declined. We had a responsibility towards those questioning khaki-clad figures as well as to the Spirit. We adjourned to the great stone steps leading to the main entrance and, protected against the bitter wind by blankets, remained there until six o'clock when the last workers left. Once more we gave our basic message in the form of leaflets: "Take your own personal and public stand against war. . . . If you are already in the armed forces we plead with you to withdraw on grounds of conscience."

Call to the Churches

On that same day another group of fasters stood or knelt outside the Episcopal Cathedral during the three hours' service. Two of them carried simple wooden crosses while the others gave a printed message to the worshippers as they left. "Can an individual or nation carry both the Cross and the H-bomb? Our prayer is that we may this day choose Christ and put away the H-bomb and all war preparations."

Another day three people carried an appeal to the atomic scientists. "There is another aspect of truth besides the knowledge of natural phenomena. It has to do with values. . . . "

While we were keeping our fast in Washington we were part of a great company of known and unknown people. In more than fifty places in the United States, and in Canada, Puerto Rico, England, Hawaii, Japan, and India individuals and groups were keeping a vigil of prayer or fasting also. Although it is impossible really to estimate the result of such an action in the spiritual field, we tried to assess its value.

Each one felt it had been a great and significant experience. Even though we had not had the mental energy needed for sustained thought or meditation, an underlying attitude of increased understanding and tenderness for one another had somehow come to us. Many of us were aware too of a new trust in the inner spring of Being, which has power to sustain

and inspire us in a measure far beyond that which our ordinary, fearful habits of thought allow.

How far we were able to reach out to others it is difficult to know. But I think of the old, blind Negro Quaker who had used her burial money to travel four days and nights in a bus from California to join the Fast, and of how a press reporter said, leaving her bedside with tears on his cheeks, "People may not agree with your ideas, but they will never doubt your sincerity." We must go forward in renewed faith.

Not a Shot Fired

Wilfred Wellock was in Berlin at the time of the Kapp Putsch in 1920. It will be remembered that after the German Revolution a number of reactionary generals, among whom was Kapp, retreated to the Baltic with their troops. On Friday, March 12, however, they organized a coup with the intention of gaining the mastery of the country. The Government, taken unawares, fled to Stuttgart, whilst the invaders proclaimed that a better Government was installed. Their troops numbering about 5,000 occupied all the key positions and were stationed outside all the railway stations, banks, post offices, etc. Consternation reigned, but by the following evening the Independent Socialists had decided on, and organized, action. Although they probably had enough rifles to overcome the usurpers, wiser counsels prevailed, and a general strike was called for Sunday night. It was emphatically ordered, however, that this must be conducted with good humor; there was to be no provocation, while all Socialists were to fraternize with the soldiers, explain the situation to them, and treat them with the utmost friendliness. By Sunday noon the Socialists were hanging on to the soldiers like flies. The streets were crowded with people. To meet the new danger the Putsch officers sent out all their cavalry to drive the Socialists off their men, but without success. No sooner were the Socialists driven off one set of men than they fixed themselves onto another set.

On the Monday morning the general strike was in full swing and appeared to be 100 percent effective. Not a single service, except that of food supply, was running. All traffic, rail and vehicular, was at a complete standstill. Even gas and electricity were cut off. Only cold meals could be secured, while at night the city was in complete darkness. The invaders were completely held up.

This state of affairs continued until Wednesday, by which time the leaders of the Putsch had to acknowledge defeat. . . . It was agreed that the Baltic troops should leave the city at 6:30 Thursday evening, and dead on 6:30 the troops appeared. A great concourse of people had assembled to witness the retreat. Yet they were silent. Not a voice could be heard, not a whisper, nothing but the dull tramp of the troops, as they marched, fully accoutred, through the vast crowds of unarmed Berlin citizens who had defeated them with folded arms and good humor and without the firing of a single shot.

—From *Victories Without Violence*
Compiled by A. Ruth Fry

A CREATIVE PACIFIST POLITICAL STRATEGY WOULD BE

Love In Action

By A. J. MUSTE

THE FAILURE of the nonpacifist theologians to make room in their political strategy for a creative application of love and nonviolence to power situations stems in part from a secularist and nationalist sentimentalism of their own. Because he excludes a return to the simplicity of the New Testament ethic, Niebuhr has no means of extricating himself from the position he now occupies of providing a pseudo-Christian cover for the sterile sophistication of power-politics, a moralistic screen for the Churchill-Luce-Truman line.

The recent case of Klaus Fuchs, the brilliant and idealistic nuclear physicist, who during seven years of employment by the British government supplied atomic weapons information to the Soviets, furnishes an apt starting point for an analysis of this point. An ardent anti-Nazi, Fuchs believed that the Russian regime and the Communist movement were offering the only really effective opposition to Nazism. Explaining how he came to "betray" the nation that employed him, he said: "I used my Marxian philosophy to conceal my thoughts in two separate compartments. One side was the man I wanted to be. I could be free and easy and happy with other people without fear of disclosing myself because I knew the other compartment would step in if I reached a danger point."

One side of him was "the man I wanted to be"—simple, decent, loyal, friendly. But this side was dominated by the other compartment of his thought and life, in which, for the sake of a political end in which he believed, he violated the very standards he observed in the first compartment.

This phenomenon of human beings doing their thinking and acting in separate compartments is a familiar one. We observe it in any society with a dominant and a subject group. Under the slave economy in the South the members of the dominant white group often were intensely religious people. Many of them were exceptionally sensitive and fine-grained people. Fairly often their simple human affection spilled over on members of the Negro group, as in the case of the white child and the Negro nurse, but always provided that this did not endanger the basic social pattern. According to that social pattern, the Negro had to be "kept in his place," which was not that of a human being among human beings. If harsh measures were necessary to maintain the pattern, that "could not be helped." (So President Truman, according to most Americans, "had no choice" when he made the H-bomb decision.) As in the case of Klaus

Fuchs, the rigid social pattern could be trusted to keep the members of the dominant group from "forgetting themselves" and letting their impulse to be decent and affectionate toward human beings, regardless of color, endanger the social pattern.

The people today who condemn everything in American foreign policy but condone or even approve all Soviet actions, including forced labor camps, and who so sorely irritate a lot of Americans, are another illustration of the two-compartment, double standard behavior.

Surely the most startling and tragic instance of such behavior in the contemporary world is seen in the attitude of multitudes of people toward war. Twelve top nuclear physicists, meeting a couple of days after Truman's H-bomb decision, declared: "We believe that no nation has the right to use such a bomb, no matter how righteous its cause. This bomb is no longer a weapon of war but a means of extermination of whole populations. Its use would be a betrayal of all standards of morality and of Christian civilization itself."

It would seem that no one could have laid down a moral absolute more clearly and emphatically than these scientists did. Somewhere a line had to be drawn: the means had become so outrageous that no end could justify them. One would suppose that these scientists, having drawn the line, would then have gone on to say that the nation must not make H-bombs, and that in any case they would have no part in making them. But when a reporter raised this question, their spokesman, Dr. Allison of the University of Chicago, "jumped to his feet" and said: "There is no one here who will not obey the President's directive."

The great majority of Christians are apparently in the same position as these scientists. They profess belief in Christ's way, in love, forgiveness, outgoing good will, the Cross. In some areas of life they live largely in this way, and certainly feel bound to try. At the same time they can justify or accept war, including atomic and "super-atomic" war. They acquiesce in having their sons taught to control any impulse to spare the babies and women under a plane carrying an H-bomb, any impulse to fraternize with the enemy, to see and to treat him as a human being.

Compartments for Morals

In Compartment One we are in direct contact with other human beings. We try to be simple, human, affectionate. It is precisely in these relationships between husband and wife, child and parent, brother and sister, friend and friend, that we find the deepest satisfactions and realize the greatest values. Here we are "the people we want to be."

In Compartment Two, on the other hand, we are usually most concerned, not with means and with human relationships, but with vast and complicated ends: the Russians and Communists with the achievement of the Bolshevik revolution to liberate mankind; we with the defense of the democratic and Christian way of life, the survival of the American nation. When we are thus preoccupied with these "ends," we persuade our-

selves that the means, abhorrent though they may appear, are justified because the end we expect to achieve is so great and good.

The great religious teachers, including Jesus and Gandhi, have always taught that it is this schizophrenia that is perhaps the chief source of confusion, evil and corruption in human life—the schizophrenia not of "abnormal" people whom we put into institutions, but of the "normal," good, religious people, which makes an insane asylum out of a civilization such as ours today.

The great religious teachers have also all in one way or another agreed upon the cure. "Except ye become as little children," said Jesus, "ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." We have to become simple, direct and human again, the kind of people we "want to be"; and we have to be "whole" or integrated. That is to say, we must cease using one set of standards in one sphere of life and an entirely different set when we are dealing with complex social and political objectives like the Communist revolution or the "defense of the democratic way of life."

Regard the Means

These teachers have always called upon men, caught in the complexities of a great crisis, to take their eyes off the distant and imposing *ends* and to fix them close at home upon the *means* they are using. They have raised questions about whether we really can control results, and whether, in corrupting our means and ourselves in order to secure certain results, we do not presently find that we have lost all along the line. They ask in what moral scales men weigh, let us say, the survival of the United States as a nation against the wiping out of another nation by hydrogen bombs.

Thus Soren Kierkegaard, the Danish theologian held in such high regard by the neo-orthodox school, in a notable passage toward the end of *Purity Of Heart Is To Will One Thing* asks whether "the means are as important to you as the end, wholly as important? Otherwise it is impossible for you to will only one thing, for in that case the irresponsible, the frivolous, the self-seeking and the heterogeneous means would flow in between in confusing and corrupting fashion." At another point he asks, "Have your thoughts become giddy until the greatness of the goal made you look upon illicit means as of negligible importance? Alas, this state of giddiness is found least of all in eternity," i.e., in the thought of God.

He points out that a man may fail to reach a goal through circumstances over which he has no control, and so be blameless. "He might even have been prevented from reaching the goal just by being unwilling to use any other means than those which the judgment of eternity permits. In which case by his very renunciation of the impatience of passion and the inventions of cleverness, he is even worthy of praise."[1]

We need to come back, then, to some simple moral decisions and then start anew from there to tackle our social and political problems—the decision, for example, that it is simply not human, decent,

[1] Quotations from S. Kierkegaard, *Purity of Heart*, Harpers, pp. 187-9.

or moral for a nation to use hydrogen bombs, "no matter how righteous its cause." Failing this, we are indeed caught, as Kierkegaard suggests, in "the inventions of cleverness" to which we give priority over the purity of our means. In the practical realm Christian theologians, as well as secular teachers and leaders, hold that we must reckon with the "realities of power"; the question is not, they argue, "the naked question"—to use a phrase of David Lilienthal's—of making or not making H-bombs, but of the "responsible use" of the power it represents. We must not become Utopian but must shape our course according to what is expedient and politically attainable. The practical (sic) result of this reasoning is that we have landed in political disaster and the totally inexpedient—imminent destruction of civilization, if not the extinction of the race! In the moral realm, in our effort to defend "all the moral values of Western and Christian civilization," we are violating and destroying just those same values. It has remained for a secular commentator, Max Lerner, rather than one of our Christian leaders, to make the simple declaration: "The naked question about the H-bomb is a moral one . . . You cannot drape enough garments of expediency around the problem to hide its moral nakedness."

To insist upon this return to moral simplicity and directness as the only safe starting point for our political programs and strategy is not, as some critics of pacifism contend, to be indifferent to, or naive about, the political results of our actions. To be "child-like" in the sense in which the great religious teachers have constantly exhorted men to be is not at all the same as being "childish." The simple-minded man is not a simpleton.

For one thing, the pacifist bases his action in large measure upon the indubitable fact that the means do enter into the end, and therefore men will be balked in achieving good ends, as they have repeatedly been, by the impurity of the means they use. "The law of the means," which Jesus taught and exemplified in his own life, is clear and inexorable: Satan will not cast out Satan for you; violence will not overcome violence; evil will not put an end to evil. Evil can be overcome only by good. The ethical, the divine element has to be injected into politics or disaster will overtake society. The word the Church utters must be God's word; not the version of any well-meaning politician. Always in the ultimate crisis that word of God will in some sense say to men that they have to be prepared to "lose the whole world," to sacrifice the seemingly promising "results" of compromise, rather than "lose their souls."

The Niebuhrians themselves have to recognize this in theory or in the abstract, or they could not remain on Christian ground. Thus one of them recently described Niebuhr's position as that of "a consistently pragmatic ethic on, of course, a *dogmatic* base, *absolute loyalties* and pragmatic politics." (Italics mine.) I surmise that most pacifists—certainly those who engage in any kind of political activity—would have little difficulty in accepting that formula. They take it to mean that the "dogmatic base," the "absolute loyalty" to God and

to the Christian law of love, must always play a decisive part in the means we use in every sphere of life. They hold that it forbids the kind of rigid compartmentalization that is implied in the familiar phrase, "Moral man and immoral society."

Redemptive Love

The creative application of the element of redemptive love in politics is indeed far from easy or simple. The solution is not the one proposed by people who say that "if only everybody would get religion and be loving, then all would be well and we would not have to do anything about these economic and political problems—they would solve themselves." Insofar as pacifists have tended in that direction they have merited the trenchant Niebuhrian criticism.

The trouble with the Niebuhrians is, as I see it, that in practice they keep the "dogmatic base" and the "absolute loyalty" completely separated from "pragmatic politics." The demand of love remains, it is true, as a "judgment" standing over our political activities and pronouncing them inadequate, "pretentious," and corrupt; but love is never applied directly in those political activities—as salt or leaven—to make them less inadequate, pretentious and corrupt. It is not used to "spiritualize politics" save in the most limited degree.

"No New Moral Issue"

The disastrous results are now apparent. Each time a new and more destructive weapon such as the H-bomb is introduced, we are told that this "does not raise any essentially new moral issue." In one sense this is true enough, but either one takes this to mean that the evil that was all the time inherent in war and violence has now been made unmistakably clear, or one fails to draw any moral line, ever. Even Amsterdam may declare that the entire doctrine of the "just war" is now "challenged" by the utter indiscriminateness of the weapons employed, but in practice Christian theologians and the churches still do not make a clean break with war, in spite of the fact that on what might be called "purely pragmatic" grounds these weapons might well be rejected as suicidal.

To the theologian as to the statesman who bases his action essentially on what seems politically expedient and feasible at the moment, and who will not allow for an element that breaks up the old pattern, that lifts the conflict to another level, it always seems that the next step grows inevitably out of the preceding one. We "have no choice" in view of what the Russians are doing, and so on. That despairing phrase is as a matter of fact a true and revealing description of the situation into which the philosophy we are criticising leads men and nations. If we do not begin and continue with the recognition that we are first of all responsible for making the simple moral choice between love and hate or indifference, then of course having deprived ourselves of the hard obligation to choose we presently "have no choice."

Thus it is that the Niebuhrians supply a pseudo-Christian cover for the Churchill-Luce-Truman line. The churches continue to support, though mildly criticising, the

current government policy. They do so because they are the victims of "nationalist sentimentalism." In dealing with political problems, that is to say, they look at things primarily from the American national standpoint rather than from the universal Christian one. Probably the emotional roots of most Americans go much deeper down in the soil of nationalism than in the soil of Christianity. The flag stirs a deeper loyalty than the cross. The former can conscript; the latter cannot.

Space permits only the briefest reference to the kind of program the nation would venture upon if it were persuaded to inject a distinctively Christian element into its international relationships.

1. The American people would resolutely practice democracy, especially in race relationships. Then the colored masses of Asia and Africa once again might think of "democracy" rather than communism as their ideal and hope. That might well constitute more "security" than all the atomic weapons in the world.

2. They would develop an adequate program along the lines of Point IV and the "McMahon proposal," and would refuse to divert their money and moral "steam" into military armaments. There is never enough left when a huge armaments program has been paid for to do an adequate job of feeding the world's hungry and rehabilitating its shaky economies.

3. They would, if it were necessary—and it probably would be—take unilateral initiative in laying down their arms, pulling out of the armaments race and thus starting a *dis*armament race.

4. They would prepare to offer nonviolent resistance and non-cooperation to aggression, if it should occur in spite of the shift from a foreign policy of power and defensiveness to a policy of outgoing and unconditional good will.

The means by which the nation might be brought to the spiritual revival that would make such revolutionary action possible on the political level would be people who would constitute what might be called a "peace army" or a "new missionary enterprise." They would be men and women, especially youth, who would accept the Christian, nonviolent way of life that we have set forth and who would be totally committed, utterly expendable, for it. They would go all over the world, with a special mission to Communists and people who now come under their influence. They would go, not as Christians in effect now do, with Point Fours, Marshall Plans, good will and generosity in one hand and H-bombs in the other; but with readiness to help in any kind of suffering, leadership in the struggle for social justice, reconciliation in conflict situations in one hand, and the Gospel of Christ, of the divine-human society, the Kingdom of God, in the other. They would be "defenceless" as those early Christians who penetrated the Roman world.

Communists Take Initiative

As it is now, it is the Communists who penetrate everywhere and carry on an immense and often highly successful propaganda. The Christian and "democratic" message has little or no appeal to them or the masses whom they reach. The current could be reversed, the

Gospel of love and freedom made to penetrate among all countries, even into Russia, only in such terms as we have indicated and by people who were as ready to die for their faith as Communists are for theirs, or soldiers have often been for the cause in which they believed.

Whenever in a desperate crisis in human history groups of this kind have come forth, a new spiritual dynamic has been released. That applies to the "remnant" called forth in Israel by the prophets, to Jesus, the early Christians, St. Francis, the early Quakers, Gandhi. It is the only hope for human civilization today. For if we wage the battle for democratic and Christian values on the Communist level and with the same kind of weapons as the Kremlin, either general chaos will result, or else general totalitarianization and mechanization of life—the kind of nightmare George Orwell painted in *1984*. In either case Christian values will disappear, and a truly human civilization in which the individual still has dignity and worth will be out of the question. The fantastic power now in the hands of men who trust in power and despise love will annihilate or dehumanize man.

If the Christian churches were soon to make a clean break with war and rally their youth in such a crusade as we are calling for, it might be possible to avert the catastrophe of a third World War. The Quakers have for a few decades done something of this sort on a small scale and with a not too well-developed philosophy or truly global strategy. The main drive has been much more remedial than nonviolently revolutionary, but even so the results are quite amazing. They are about the only Americans who can even talk to Russian leaders. Suppose the great Christian denominations had been following some such program in the past thirty or forty years instead of doing what they have been doing!

The "Remnant"

Even if, however, the "peace army" was not able to avert the catastrophe—and such groups must always be willing to seem politically impotent and irrelevant at the outset—it is still the case that without such a "remnant" the Christian Church and human civilization will perish. The salt, become savorless, will be trodden under foot of men.

It is possible that pacifists and nonpacifists in the Christian community might, though not reaching theological uniformity, unite on a common strategy along some such lines as we have suggested. In so abysmal a crisis as this that possibility must be earnestly explored. Niebuhrians could, on essentially pragmatic grounds such as the uncontrollability of modern war and the impossibility of salvaging any semblance of democracy in an atomic armaments race, arrive at the conclusion that war must be ruled out. They might also agree that nonviolent resistance, non-cooperation, was the pragmatically feasible (non-Utopian) way to apply so much of love in the situation as is possible in history.

On the other hand, pacifists also could join in the development of nonviolent resistance either on the ground that nonviolence is the expression of love in society, the means to avoid "double-standard"

(*Cont'd. on page* 32)

Like the early Christians, he refuses the state even

A Pinch of Incense

By AMMON A. HENNACY

THE TAX COLLECTOR was a pleasant Catholic veteran who had requested an interview with me after receiving my statement of earnings and refusal to pay taxes. He first asked if I was a Communist. I explained my radical history and said that I was a Christian anarchist, belonged to no church, and told of my interest in the Catholic Worker movement although I considered their church the worst institution for evil in the world and getting worse and that the Catholic Worker was the most basic revolutionary group in this country. He replied that a Catholic couldn't be an anarchist and a pacifist. I mentioned Eric Gill and Peter Maurin as two Catholics who were anarchists and pacifists and referred him to my friend, a priest at St. Mary's who, when the police had arrested me for picketing the Freedom Train, had told them that I had a right to picket —and I was released. This priest had mentioned my Christian anarchism in a sermon in his church recently.

The tax man wanted to know if I was divorced. I replied that I had been married common law and when my wife left me ten years ago I considered myself divorced as I did not consider courts and churches necessary to establish the marital status. As my daughters were over 18 and earning some money the tax men decided that a tax of $151 was due on my entire income although I had sent my daughters four-fifths of it.

Not One Cent

After all of this conversation I was requested to make a down payment on the tax. I answered that I never intended to pay a cent of it. He desired to know if I had any property and wondered why I had sent so much to my daughters and not saved anything to pay taxes. I told him that I believed in approximating the life of St. Francis and if my daughters did not need the money I would give it to the Catholic Worker or some other anti-governmental group and never waste it in paying taxes. I asked the tax man if he knew that the early Christians had refused to put a pinch of incense on the altar to Caesar and thereby had been thrown to the lions. He replied that he knew of it. I said that I was just that kind of a person who would suffer any punishment rather than pay one cent for the bomb and government in general. His reflection was that it would be a better world if all people would stand by their convictions as I did.

He said that he would get a court order to garnishee my wages and that he knew the head of the company for whom I had worked in

the vegetable fields and for whom I was supposed to start working the next day. I replied that I would not work where any garnishee would be effected but would get work day by day here and there; that I would not lie to him nor change my name but would make it as difficult as possible for him to get a cent from me. He wondered why I had not been prosecuted the other four years in Albuquerque. I thought that it was because the tax bureau was lazy and inefficient. As we parted I gave him the current Catholic Worker and Dorothy Day's leaflet "The Folly of Force."

Later I discovered that the head of the tax bureau who would have to o.k. my prosecution was a Quaker. When I related the above experiences to my friend the priest I had a cordial reception. I have found work each day since then. As I live among the pacifist Molokans I may get work from them. Carfare here and there is an expense but I consider it as part of the overhead in bucking the government on the tax issue.

A Poem in time of "Peace"

Prometheus Unbound

Time is a man-trap between night and noon:
What meaning has it in the stratosphere
Above the fading phantoms of the year
Between the golden Sun and Earth's balloon?
To conquer Space in flight and race the Moon
In triumph over Earth and Atmosphere,
To soar and pace the Sun with strength of gear
And mind—all this is immortality too soon!——
To rise on wings of metal, high and higher,
Till the insect world drops like a husk away,
To outsoar Night and like an asteroid—
Above the bowl of land a ball of fire—
Float in perpetual motion through endless Day,
Or hang like God unfathomed in boundless void! . . .

All truth, all terror, victory and bliss,
Are wrapped in Illusion as in chrysalis,
Where from the infant to the Infinite,
From chains of time and place and death and night
Man, the ingenious insect, seeks release,
Thinking to climb through monstrous wars to peace!

—Brent Dow Allinson

What happens to his attitude when you bring together

The Student and ROTC

By J. HERSCHEL COFFIN

ONE DESTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE in the student mind that grows out of ROTC and other forms of military encroachment in the college is the student's unconscious identification of his personal status and advancement with a military government.

I have come to believe that the most important chapter in psychology is the chapter on *motivation*. There is little agreement among psychologists as to precisely what the basic "drives" or "urges" are that lie at the core of human motivation, but in almost everybody's list will be found the need for *status* and for *security*. Every dean and registrar knows that young men and women come to college primarily because they believe "education" will set them forward toward the satisfaction of these needs.

We have learned also about repression, unconscious motivation and rationalization. What happens in the mind of the ROTC boy then, as he looks forward to his future, is an unconscious identification of himself, his hopes, his expectations, and his plans, with the military that is underwriting his future training.

His chief problem is likely to be the financing of his schooling. This, he thankfully finds, is taken care of by a benevolent government, which requires of him little time and energy in return. These minor sacrifices and inconveniences he can take in his stride as a part of the over-all discipline required in the preparation for one's career.

The Benevolent Army

Preoccupied as he is with his unfolding program, he is not disposed to think critically about the long-run social implications of the framework within which he is progressing toward his goals. Indeed, he rationalizes and approves whatever furthers his progress. He is emotionally warm toward those social structures and processes that seem to be promoting his personal advancement.

What actually happens, of course, is movement with the herd into the narrowing corral of a totalitarian way of life. It no longer seems to him strange or undemocratic that the government should be dominated and administered in this case by top brass. Indeed, this paternal care for the individual may mistakenly appear to him to be the very essence of democracy, and he may soon come to feel that anyone is subversive who criticizes this regime or raises his voice in protest against the trend.

Further, he soon comes uncritically to identify the military with the government itself. These two institutions now seem to him to be one and the same thing. Since

his own personal career is being underwritten by it, his sentiment of patriotism demands his loyalty to whatever they do.

The First Casualty

The first great casualty in this operation, then, is the ROTC boy's emotional identification with the institution and the processes of a military government.

Further, some of these ROTC boys will be majoring in the various departments of instruction of the college with the intention of making a career in the academic world. They are heading for professorships and administrative positions in private and public education.

In these positions of influence they will naturally wish further to cooperate with government in research, in planning for both internal and international relations, and in the administration of these plans. They set up goals and devise techniques in harmony with the frame of reference largely established by the military.

At this stage of their career the matter of personal status and security enters again into the unconscious motivation of these career men. It is now easy again to rationalize the traditional frame of reference within which a conflict psychology has controlled person-to-person and group-to-group interaction. From this point of view, the only effective way of dealing with conflict situations seems to be pressure and coercion.

This is the second great casualty both to the psycho-social development of the personalities of ROTC boys themselves and to the social order of which they become influential members.

With respect to the social order itself, the great experiment in democracy to which the founding fathers set their hand has now been placed in jeopardy. One of the most effective ways to stay this trend toward totalitarianism is to dissolve the partnership between militarism and education as embodied in the institution of the ROTC.

The Midnight Year, 1950

What say the Sages
On this, man's darkest night?
"Lay aside all our pages!
Follow your Inward Light."

"Light! O where are you leading?"
"To comfort the men you hate."
"Miserere! We left them bleeding!"
"Comfort is never too late."

—Sarah Cleghorn

News from the Peace Front

Council Emphasizes Field Work, Lay Participation, Adequate Financing

From Thursday evening, May 18, to Saturday noon, May 20, the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation met in New York, with members coming from California, Virginia, Massachusetts, Illinois and several other states. Many of them had attended the Conference on the Church and War in Detroit the week before. At its first session, the Council unanimously elected John Oliver Nelson as the new National Chairman of the FOR, succeeding Charles Iglehart, who is returning this summer to Japan.

Policy Committee Report

The report of the Policy Committee, which contained suggestions for some radical changes in the technique of building the Fellowship, occupied a major portion of the Council's time. Because, on analysis, the Committee felt that, in spite of an excellent staff, a considerable section of the membership has been apathetic and inactive, it recommended that instead of the practice of traveling around the country making numerous one and two-day stands, each staff member frequently spend a month in a town or small area, cultivating and organizing it intensively. This concentration, it was hoped, would help to activate the membership by developing strong local groups and cells and by training lay members to carry on the work. The staff indicated its willingness to try the new approach, and the Council approved the idea.

In line with this emphasis on the activation of lay leadership, the Policy Committee recommended less concentration on national projects and more on projects initiated and promoted by the local membership. The Policy Committee called for a renewal of missionary zeal to place the message and hope of pacifism before the world.

The Policy Committee urged greater coordination and planning of activities in the national office, and in this connection it was recommended by the staff and voted by the Council that John Swomley should be the coordinator of all organizational work and take over from A. J. Muste most of the load of administration, leaving the latter free for general planning, writing and pacifist evangelism.

Suggestions for revision of the schedule of the Council meetings and Executive Committee meetings were referred to the November Council meeting. The Council agreed with the Policy Committee's recommendation that additional provision for expenses of Council members should be made, so that more of them can attend Council meetings; and that agenda for Council meetings should go out ahead of time to regional committees for discussion and recommendations, to encourage lay par-

ticipation in policy making.

The suggestion that the literature program should be geared in as closely as possible with the work of other departments and that immediate priority should be given to missionary materials and "how to" leaflets on cell building and other projects was approved heartily by the Council.

Urge Renewed Zeal

On Saturday morning the financial situation, which is serious, was discussed. However, a suggestion that the work be curtailed and one or more staff members dropped was vigorously rejected. Instead, an urgent plea by the Policy Committee that Council members themselves should set an example of renewed zeal and activity, especially, at present, in the raising of money, was approved. Council members present decided to send a letter to others on the Council pledging to begin immediately with fund-raising work and asking their fellow-members to do the same. Under consideration in this connection is a suggestion to raise $20,000, on the basis of the intensified field work program prescribed by the Council, at least half of this amount to be used to add to the staff young field workers volunteering a period of service on a subsistence basis. It is hoped that the membership as a whole will feel called to help, not only by giving individually but by making calls and promoting money-making projects. The summer is a lean period financially for such organizations as FOR. If you have not yet made the contribution you have planned for this year, it will be doubly helpful if you can send it now.

On Friday night reports of the work of the IFOR were heard from Nevin Sayre, and from Percy Bartlett of the IFOR in England and Mrs. Kora of the FOR in Japan, who was on her way home, after traveling in Europe, from the World Pacifist Meeting in India.

A request by the Post-Conference Committee of the Conference on the Church and War that A. J. Muste should devote a substantial block of his time to the follow-up work of the Conference, including leadership in a pacifist preaching mission in the churches, was approved. The move is in accord with the current FOR emphasis on winning the churches to a complete break with war. Details of A J's program will be worked out in consultation between the Post-Conference Committee and the FOR Executive Council.

Parole Plan for SS Violators Stalled

A special parole for Selective Service violators, including COs, is authorized in the Selective Service Act, but has never been implemented. It could enable the President to parole a man within thirty days after his sentence had begun. Such a plan was at one time submitted by General Hershey, as one of a number, to the Executive Office of the President, but the whole group was later withdrawn and resubmitted without the parole plan. Nothing has since been done by any department of the government. At present Selective Service violators in civil prisons may be paroled after serving one-third of their sentence, like other prisoners.

World Citizens Can Register in U.S.

The World Citizenship movement founded in France by Garry Davis and those working with him has designated several individuals in this country as representatives who can register World Citizens here. Signers of the Pact of the World Citizen receive a card declaring their membership in the World Community. Those interested may write to a Registry of World Citizens at: 30 Babcock Street, Suite 1, Brookline 46, Massachusetts; 128 Walnut Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio; 4033 University Way, Seattle, Washington; or c/o Mrs. Sara Louella Bunker, 339 West 26th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

In February it was announced that in the Lot district in central France 230 towns and villages, with over 100,000 inhabitants, had declared themselves "world territory."

National Conference in Evanston for 1950

The 1950 National Conference of the FOR will be held in the First Methodist Church in Evanston, Illinois, whose new pastor, FOR member Harold Bosley, will take up his duties in early September. The Conference will last from Friday, September 8, through Sunday, September 10. Guest speaker will be Canon Charles E. Raven, former Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, and President of the British FOR. He will give the opening address on Friday night, and will preach on Sunday morning to the congregation of First Methodist Church, who will be joined by those attending the Conference.

During the week preceding the Conference, from Tuesday through Friday afternoon, a retreat and training session will be held. The important subject of the retreat will be discussion of the function of the FOR in today's situation, its program, and means of carrying it out.

British FOR Conference Will Hear Swomley

One of the main speakers at the British FOR Conference to be held in Bangor, North Wales, for a week from August 19-August 26, will be the Rev. John M. Swomley, Jr., Associate Secretary of the FOR in this country. The subject of the Conference will be "The Purpose of Jesus and World Order," and other speakers will be the Rev. E. L. Allen and the Rev. Geoffrey Nuttall. John Swomley will also attend the IFOR Conference in Holland during the last week in July.

George Carpenter in Boston FOR Work

George Carpenter, student at the Boston University School of Theology, was asked by the Boston FOR to take on part-time work as Boston FOR Secretary, and entered upon his new duties at the end of March. The Boston FOR had been without a Secretary since the departure of Lowell Cantrell on February 1, 1949, over a year ago.

Clearing House on Books for Children

A great many FOR members, at one time or another, have expressed the need of information about books for children of various ages which would represent the pacifist point of view, a good attitude on race relations and international relations, and other subjects of interest to pacifists. Many children's books glorify warfare and present intolerant and superficial attitudes.

The FOR hopes to compile a list of books useful to FOR members, and will be glad to hear from anyone who knows of such books. Please indicate title, author, publisher and price, wherever such information is available, and if possible tell a bit about the book. When some compilation is made, it will be sent out to any who wish to receive it. Write to Constance Muste in the National office, either to give information or to receive it.

Federal Council Cannot Agree on H-Bomb

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches at its meeting on March 21 was unable to take a position either for or against the making of the hydrogen bomb. It noted that some of its members opposed its manufacture while others felt it was necessary for defense. The statement continued: "All of us unite in the prayer that it may never be used."

The statement also declared the Federal Council's support of an appeal to the nations for a "gigantic new effort for peace," while at the same time commending Secretary Acheson's recent statement of policy which included throwing cold water on the idea that new efforts at agreement with the Soviet Union could accomplish anything.

You can build

HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA

Because of the Atom Bomb more than four thousand families are still homeless in Hiroshima.

A small, interrace, interfaith, group of American students under the direction of Floyd Schmoe, are going to Japan again in June, to join with Japanese volunteers in building more homes for bombed-out families, as a gesture of good will and understanding.

You can help with your contributions . . . large or small . . . now or later.

Mail contributions to

HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA
c/o Friends Center
3959 15th Street N.E.
Seattle 5, Washington

Vacation with a Purpose

THE HOMESTEAD

Family Vacation Center
at Crafts, Carmel, N. Y.
of the
COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK
"Knowing Not Sect, Class, Nation or Race"
Weekly rates $37.50
(Children $32.50, $25)
For information:
Write 40 East 35th Street
Phone: MU 3-4780; MAhopac 8-8711

CARE Book Program for Universities and Libraries

The CARE Book Program for sending scientific and technical books to war-wrecked libraries, universities and technical schools in Europe and Asia is an attempt to provide the tools of education for students and professional people where the need is very great. Educational institutions in Austria, Belgium, Finland, Greece, France, Japan, Korea, Western Germany, Pakistan and as many more countries send lists of the books they need to CARE and UNESCO, and CARE then purchases and ships the books with funds contributed by organizations and individuals. It was to this book program that it was proposed to give the money now in the national treasury which COs earned but were not allowed to keep during the war, a proposal which was defeated in Congress.

Missions Group Asks Recognition of China

A group of 68 Protestant churchmen, most of them associated with mission work in China, in April sent a memorandum to Secretary of State Dean Acheson urging recognition of China's Communist government. The statement said that such recognition would not imply approval of that government's philosophy or ideology, and declared that "reliable information indicates that the majority of American missionaries in China desire to have our country recognize the present government." It said that the U.S. must be constantly aware of the longings and aspirations of the common people in all lands, and should show by this move that it is not opposed to needed changes. The present situation makes mission work by Americans difficult, the group feels.

The signers, who made it clear that they were acting as individuals, and not in any official capacity, included Dr. Wynn C. Fairfield, Dr. Rowland Cross, Dr. J. W. Decker, and FOR members Robert and Helen Chandler, Wendell Flory, Tracy K. Jones, Jr., M. T. Kennedy, Jr., Joseph F. King, Margaret M. Sherman, and Ralph R. Shrader.

Population and Timing

In the February issue of FELLOWSHIP, we are notified by two alert readers, we reported that there are 7 people per square mile in this country as compared with 442.7 in Germany. According to the 1940 census there were 44 people per square mile in the United States, and this may now have risen to 50. Still quite a difference, but we apologize for reducing the population thus arbitrarily.

Orval Etter reports from the West Coast that the Klamath Falls cemetery situation, in which he was an active force, did not move along quite so rapidly as we indicated in our report in May FELLOWSHIP. A month elapsed after the City Council's decision to set aside a section of the park for non-Caucasians before the petition was presented; and after the two representations to the Council about three months elapsed before the final change in the decision.

Bill Proposes Medals for Peace

Senator Brien McMahon (D., Conn.), in January introduced S 2946, whose purpose is to set up machinery for the conferring of national awards, to be known as the Presidential Medal of Honor, the Presidential Medal of Achievement, and the Presidential Medal of Recognition, in order to stimulate a wide variety of peacetime accomplishments in the public interest, in contrast to the many medals used to encourage the martial virtues. The awards would be conferred annually by the President in person, and in addition to awards to citizens of this country a limited number would be made to foreign citizens "who have conspicuously forwarded the public welfare in the broader realm of international relations."

The bill has been referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; and since it is a non-controversial measure and requires only modest expenditures, stands a good chance of passing.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Jottings

Dr. John Oliver Nelson, FOR member and director of the Commission on the Ministry of the Federal Council of Churches, will go to Yale Divinity School on July 1, to be director of religious field work and Associate Professor of Christian Vocation. He is the new National Chairman of the FOR, elected at the May Council meeting.

Bob McInnes, FOR member of Berkeley, has charge of a weekly program on nonviolence over radio station KPFA, Berkeley's FM station.

In February the city of Portland, Oregon, received the annual award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews for making the best improvement in human relations of any city in the country. Chairman of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations is the Rev. Myron C. Cole, FOR member. The NCCJ also commended the Urban League, of which FOR member Edwin C. Berry is Executive Secretary, and the United Committee for Civil Rights, of which the Portland FOR is a member.

Dr. Alex Wood, distinguished scholar, physics lecturer at Cambridge, FOR member and until recently Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, died in England in April.

Peace Action Abroad

Hiroshima Students: February 24, 1950

Six hundred high school girls held a two-hour meeting with no teacher present, while classes waited, on February 24, the World Day of Prayer. Previously challenged by Robert Gemmer, FOR member of Indianapolis, speaker for the occasion at the Hiroshima Jo Gokium (Girls' School), they coupled their prayers for peace with works for peace.

As one girl said after the meeting, "We decided to pray, and as we prayed, something happened." Another added, "We really felt God was helping us. All whose parents had died in the bomb stood and prayed."

After they prayed, with tears streaming down their faces, they drew up the following letter which they mailed to President Truman, Premier Stalin, and Secretary Trygve Lie:

"On this World Day of Prayer we bring to mind the horrible experience at the time of the atomic bomb, and we feel deeply the urgent need of a world peace for the sake of the welfare of all people.

"That day on which our dear fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and friends were taken from us . . . the city full of life until that morning was burned to ashes in a few seconds. . . . We do not want others to suffer this piteous tragedy which war has brought to us.

"The leaders of each country say that they will use weapons as a means to peace. But as long as weapons exist we firmly believe that we cannot hope for true peace. We pray that the large sums used for armaments will be turned to render services for the happiness of mankind.

"We want you to listen to our prayers which we are shouting from the bottom of our hearts. . . . Kazuko Shimahara (President)"

Each letter was signed personally by each of the six hundred students. A fourth letter was also signed with a view to sending it to Prime Minister Nehru, urging him to use India's influence as a neutral nation.

The girls also pledged themselves to write individual letters to world leaders. The eight hundred and fifty Junior High School girls in this school also planned to write similar letters.

That same evening some of the young people gathered for an informal discussion. Here are some of their comments:

"Today our school did something really good and we're all so happy we can hardly stand it, but we still have to study and go to school, so we say, 'Please scientists, missionaries and everyone, do something, too!' "

This question was posed for Americans. "Our social science class discussed Gen. MacArthur's statement that the U.S. is going to keep military bases in Japan. How can we remain unarmed and neutral and live up to our constitution which renounces war, when American troops are here?"

"There are some young people in Hiroshima who would refuse to go to war. Most who saw the atom bomb would say, 'I don't want to give this suffering to anyone else.' "

Kagawa and History Texts

Dr. Kagawa, who is now taking part in an extensive evangelistic campaign in London, declares optimism regarding pacifism in Japan. He is himself engaged in rewriting history textbooks as well as in collecting material for larger works on Christian apologetics, with the object of giving the already popular pacifist sentiment in Japan a firm foundation in religious conviction. He believes that history in every country should be rewritten around achievements of periods of peace instead of around accomplishments of military leaders.

CO Committee Formed in Paris

A Committee for Legal Recognition of Conscientious Objection has been formed in France to support the move in Parliament spearheaded by André Philip for legal recognition of the CO position and for the creation of civilian service for COs. France has a peacetime military training law, and COs now face jail if they refuse to go into the army. They may be sent to jail over and over again, and several have been sentenced twice or three times. Members of the honorary committee include writers Albert Camus and Jean Giono; the action committee has representatives from the WRI, the IFOR, the Service Civil, and a number of other peace organizations. Lawyers and parents of COs, as well as the COs themselves, are represented.

The Committee sends out information on the law and provides speakers on the subject. At a recent public meeting in Paris a resolution was adopted asking for the immediate release of imprisoned COs, and passage of the CO law, which will be presented to President Bidault of the Council.

Australians and Food Relief

From Australia comes recent word of the Pacifist Food Relief Fund which has been doing an excellent work for some years. Over two hundred names still remain on their lists. They have been sending eleven-pound parcels at the rate of three or four a year to each person, but this may have to be cut to two or less this year because of decreased income and higher costs.

The need is still very great, especially in Germany. Although there are goods in the shops, prices are practically prohibitive.

F.O.R. Candidates for Nobel Peace Prize

Jointly nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1950 are Wilhelm Mensching, German pastor who was until recently chairman of the German FOR; and André Trocmé of France, European FOR Secretary.

Books

The Military and Power

Civil-Military Relationships in American Life, Jerome G. Kerwin, Editor. University of Chicago Press, 1948. $2.75.

This book, a symposium by eight writers, is a contribution to the discussion of the current trend toward military dominance of our nation. The most significant chapters are by Hanson Baldwin, who develops the idea that peacetime conscription is unwise; Paul Appleby, who discusses civilian control of the Department of National Defense, and the threat of that Department to the rest of the government; and Quincy Wright, who deals with military control of foreign policy. Aside from these three chapters, the book either ignores the present threat of militarism or is highly laudatory of present military-civil developments.

As the book points out, there is no specific provision in the American constitution which insures civilian control over government. Only tradition has thus far kept the military subordinate. Today, however, military men have the biggest influence in developing policy, and the Department of National Defense is the largest and most influential in government. "The budget bureau is the only organization giving systematic civilian review to military programming, administration, and operation." The Defense Department, even though nominally headed by a civilian, is run chiefly by the military staff, and the civilian head, like "any executive with a segmental responsibility, exaggerates his segment" in terms of his department's desires and recommendations. Without some devoted civil staff to review military demands and encroachments and without strong civil departments to counterbalance military influence, the President is increasingly in the position where he can only ratify proposals from the military establishment. He does not have a competent staff working in the President's interest to control the Department of Defense and he is not "in a position to wield in fact a balance of power" between civil and military demands.

As Quincy Wright points out in his chapter on "The Military and Foreign Policy," "It is easier for the civilian than for the military man to see that efficient preparation for the use of military force as an instrument of policy tends to increase the willingness of the government to utilize that method; tends to arouse apprehension in other governments; and tends to induce them to increase their military preparations, thus precipitating an armaments race from which war is likely to eventuate."

Even the cursory approach which this book makes to the present-day

problems of militarism makes it obvious that when a nation becomes militarized it ceases to be a democracy.

—John M. Swomley, Jr.

Japanese Poets

Songs from the Land of Dawn, by Toyohiko Kagawa and other Japanese Poets. Interpretation by Lois J. Erickson. Decorations by Henry Y. Sugimoto. Friendship Press, New York, 1949. 80 pp., $1.50.

The Missionary Education Movement has done a valuable service to Kagawa, and to poets of Japan, present and past, in sponsoring this little volume of verse so penetratingly translated and interpreted by Mrs. Erickson, whose husband was, for thirty-five years, a Christian worker among Japanese lepers.

Mrs. Erickson divides her book into three parts. First, the poems of Kagawa contributed, since the end of war, to the *Asahi* newspaper. Poignant and tender prose poems, they are intensely and simply Christian.

Without the Spirit of the Cross
Japan cannot be saved.

* * *

The Campaign of the Crucifixion
Means adventure,
Now and always.

These lines strike the familiar keynote of his message.

Part II consists of poetry written by members of the Poetry Club of Oshima—that isle of the inland sea where the lepers are cared for. A number of these verses have already appeared in the publications of the American Mission to Lepers. Brief, for the most part, they are fragments of thought; shy revealings of emotion; and like Kagawa's, profoundly Christian. One of these poets assisted in the translation of the Bible; another was the organizer of the Poetry Club; another, a teacher of English, was blind; a notable group.

Part III contains verse chosen from the classical poetry of Japan. It ranges from the Seventh Century A.D., to the Twentieth. Charming, wistful, tender little lyrics and prose poems, they are. Here is one from the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Century:

All day
The bird sits in his cage,
Not singing,
For he sees the butterflies.

And here, from a poet who wrote between A.D. 660 and 733:

He is so little, and the way is dim;
O angel, stoop, I pray, and carry him.

The delicate wash-drawings of Mr. Sugimoto give a quaint distinction to these pages. The tail piece to Kagawa's poem on *The Simple Life* is especially attractive, with the plump and pampered kitten on its cushion as commentary on the words:

I like the simple life;
I'm sixty,
But I've never had
A best suit yet.

* * *

A suit-case in each hand,
One cannot run.

Mrs. Erickson's interpretation of these singers should do much to

JUST PUBLISHED

Is God In History?

By GERALD HEARD

This book is a sequel to IS GOD EVIDENT?, in which Mr. Heard drew from the facts of natural history the conclusion that God is a valid inference. In the present volume he follows up his inquiry from natural history to human history. He believes that in the synoptic view of history (to use Toynbee's phrase), the view which world-wide research has now made clear, it is possible to detect not only a purpose but that this design indicates that the Christian theory of fall and redemption is a true explanation. He indicates this process not only in our western tradition but in the Indian and Mongolian as well and suggests that so seen, in conjunction with these other two, the western tradition expresses the deepest level of man's spiritual nature and destiny. The religious story of Hinduism and of the Far East thus fits into place so that with them and with Christianity we may have an adequate outline of the divine process as it has directed human history. $3.00

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HARPER & BROTHERS
New York 16, N. Y.

restore our confidence in *The Land of the Dawn*, and to quicken our friendship for its people, our neighbors.

—Florence Converse

Well-Known Neutral

Sweden, Champion of Peace, by David Hinshaw. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $4.00.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading, since the author does not make any case for Sweden as a champion of peace. Rather, Sweden's claim should be champion of neutrality. Although Sweden is one of the most heavily armed nations in Europe, having compulsory military training and an air force which some experts claim is second only to that of Russia and England, the author fails to take note of it. The author, who is a Quaker and on the Board of the American Friends Service Committee, apparently justifies Sweden's policy of armaments.

The thesis of the book is that the way to bring peace to the world is to establish domestic tranquillity—"That is, peaceful relations"—within each country. Sweden has not only done this, but teaches peace in the schools, and by order of the office of education "the teacher shall take pains to counteract hate and hostility."

In view of the claims made by American advocates of UMT that compulsory training in Sweden and the consequent fear aroused in Germany is what prevented an invasion, it is interesting to note the reasons David Hinshaw gives for neutrality. In the early days of World War II when Russia and Germany were allies, "Russia wanted Sweden to remain neutral because the Soviet government did not want the Allies in the Baltic." Russia concluded a peace agreement with Finland on March 12, 1940, to make sure there was no excuse for an Anglo-French attack in the Baltic. Germany's threats of invasion were countered by a Swedish announcement that "their government had mined the water power plants which were the power source for mining and ore field operation, as well as the ore fields themselves and stood ready to blow" them up if Germany made an invasion move. The Swedes "pointed out that Germany would get no ore whatever in that case."

Despite her military training Sweden feared Germany so much that she yielded to German threats and signed an agreement granting Germany the right to send "war materials to and from its forces in Norway."

Sweden, like the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, according to a prominent Swede quoted in the book, had "no inclination to fight . . . so long as Sweden herself is not threatened. Let the world go to ruin provided Sweden is left in peace."

While a policy of neutrality is better than a policy of intervention, it is not enough to warrant calling a nation the champion of peace.

—John M. Swomley, Jr.

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Letters

Gift Subscriptions

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Our Portland FOR has decided to take a year's subscription to FELLOWSHIP for three libraries here in Portland. All three have said they would accept it:

(1) Library Association of Portland
(2) Library of Lewis and Clark College
(3) Reed College Library

MABEL DOWNS
Portland, Oregon

Clarification

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

An anonymous correspondent who describes himself as "an FOR admirer" recently sent a clipping from the New York *Times* referring to some testimony of Louis Budenz to the effect that at one time he was "a Muste-ite" and belonged to the American Workers Party which held that violent revolution might be necessary and justifiable. This correspondent asks whether there is anything to this statement, and adds that he has not read anything about it in the FOR magazine.

Since there may be others who have wondered about this, it might be well to say that this statement of Mr. Budenz's was essentially correct, and to point out that the undersigned in 1936 publicly severed connections with this movement and repudiated these ideas. For the past ten years the biographical notes on A. J. Muste have contained the following paragraph:

"For a brief period he was one of the outstanding leaders of the Troskyist section of the Communist movement in the U.S., but resigned from it in 1936. After spending the summer of that year in Europe, Mr. Muste again became convinced of the self-defeating character of the resort to violence whether in international war or in class struggle. He takes, therefore, a thorough-going religious pacifist position, believing that only the dynamic of religion will enable us to abolish war and build a better social order by means which do not constantly defeat the ends we seek."

A. J. MUSTE
New York, New York

A Job for Pacifists

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Are pacifists neglecting to use one of the most effective tools in helping toward world peace?

This tool is food.

True, we are using it most effectively in relief work; yet some of this relief work is being done at the cost of injury to our American farm land. Prices are high, and land that should never be plowed has been used for wheat land.

If the United States continues to waste its fertile land at the rate of 500,000 acres a year, how long can we hope to survive? An acreage of cropland in the United States, equal to the combined areas of Texas and California, has already been lost to ordinary farming through water and wind erosion—writes

Graham in *Natural Principles of Land Use.*

Our real enemy, then, is within our own borders. Our real enemy is our own American greed, ignorance, and indifference that permits such waste of land to continue.

Complete soil conservation plans are in effect on only 10 3/10 percent of our farms, with another 63 percent working on partial plans. Nevertheless, President Milton Eisenhower of Kansas State College declares that for every Federal dollar spent for this in the past twelve years there has been a return of only about ten cents in actual reduction of soil and fertility losses. Does this suggest to us that a sick country cannot do much for a sick world?

Here is another alarming statement: "The using up of fertility is a transfer of past capital and of future possibilities to enrich a dishonest present: it is banditry pure and simple, soil erosion and the toll of animal disease continue. . . . Between 1914 and 1934 more soil was lost to the world than in all the previous ages of mankind." So writes Sir Albert Howard in *The Soil and Health.*

Here, then, is almost virgin territory in which the pacifist may work. A. J. Muste wrote recently in FELLOWSHIP: "The world . . . is not rich enough to prepare adequately for total war, and at the same time to repair adequately the damage of the last war and build a stable world economy."

In view of all the foregoing may I suggest that each of us pacifists has a great positive patriotic duty to work for soil conservation in our country. Perhaps we should worry less about whether or not to pay income tax; less about nonviolent resistance to the rearmament program.

As Fellowship of Reconciliation members let us promote the raising of more and better food from the earth's farms and gardens, while maintaining their fertility, getting behind a large, positive, constructive program, and we will be doing great things for real and lasting peace and the well-being of humanity.

Evil shall be overcome with good, for unselfishness, intelligence, and zeal will be at work, even as we find ourselves in cooperation with our heavenly Father.

J. HEBER SHUNK
Evansville, Indiana

Problem of Exploitation

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Our Statement of Purpose says that we "strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another"; but, so far as I remember, there has been little study or consideration of the subject of exploitation recently, either in regard to how our present society could be modified to meet our aim, or how we could avoid personal involvement in exploitation. Yet it is so prevalent and so generally accepted by Christian people that we are apt not to recognize it, or if we do we accept it as inevitable. But all of us who receive unearned income from investments, as I see it, are to some extent involved in exploitation, either of workers or of consumers.

It seems impossible to avoid entirely some implication in the exploitation of modern capitalism. But if we realize how greatly this search for getting something for nothing has demoralized our whole society and is a potent factor in the trends toward war, we would probably admit that it is almost as important to make a definite stand against it as against war itself. In neither case can we detach ourselves completely from the evil system. This unearned profit system is not only the chief bone of contention between capital and labor, but it tends, by its influence on our sources of information, to make intelligent, democratic control of our government almost impossible; and in its search for markets and new fields for exploitation it quietly exerts

pressures that may lead to war. Our qualifications as peace workers are inadequate unless we can recognize these pressures and study how to oppose them.

Should we not study and discuss together what can be done to lessen our personal involvement? Of course voting for Socialists, when possible, and taking part in cooperative movements are valuable steps. Even the co-ops pay interest, and I cannot see that we can avoid, in the foreseeable future, some payment for the use of necessary capital. But is there not a valid moral distinction between bonds and stock? The stockholders own the business, and the corporation normally is formed with the express purpose of gaining as much unearned profit for them as is consistent with security. Hence, there is pressure to pay low wages and charge prices as high as the traffic will bear. The bondholders merely lend their money at a definite rate and do not control the business, although their receiving the promised interest is a fixed charge. If opportunities for large profits were lowered, the general interest rate on bonds would probably be lowered; probably not more than two percent (as in savings banks) might be necessary to gain capital enough for projects of human welfare.

I hope that these matters may be more fully discussed in FELLOWSHIP, and in our conferences.

MARY S. McDOWELL
Brooklyn, New York

Anyone having biographical information about the late Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, formerly of Duke and Missouri Universities, or comments on his contributions to social-religious thought, please write to John E. Owen, Box 291, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, who is writing a biography of Dr. Ellwood.

Horror of H-Bomb

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is difficult to express the horror that one feels upon receiving the news of the H-bomb. We knew nothing about it until your letter came. It is almost inconceivable the depths to which so-called "enlightened" people can fall in their pursuit of self-interest and pride. Yet we keep reminding ourselves of the heights that might be attained by the same people when possessed of the love of God which is in Jesus Christ.

PAUL AND EVELYN MERKLE
French Cameroun, West Africa

Love in Action *(Cont'd.)*

and "compartmentalizing" ethics; or in the case of those pacifists who accept a good part of neo-orthodoxy, on the ground that nonviolence is as near as men can come to injecting the "salt" and the "leaven" of love into the power-situation, to "spiritualizing politics."

If a nation were prepared, under such an ethical drive, to devote to the development of nonviolent science and strategy of resistance one-tenth of the money, energy and brains that now is spent on the obsolete "science" of war, it would surely be arguable that the chances were that this would provide much more "security" than any nation now has.

(This is the fourth and last article in this series.)

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: **Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.;** ***Far West:*** **Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.;** ***Southwest:*** **Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.;** ***Middle Atlantic:*** **Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.**

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